

from the bowels of the earth, and they were defeated with great slaughter. From this circumstance the Coweta town became the great war town of the Creek Nation. Then the Kasihta sent back for the Coweta but, without waiting for them to catch up, continued in the same direction as before. Presently they reached a country populated by naked people who would attack them and then run off. The naked people did this repeatedly until they at length ran into a dense fog. The Kasihta followed them and, emerging on the other side, found themselves on the shore of the ocean from which the fog had arisen. Unable to go farther they camped where they were, and in the morning saw the sun rise out of the sea. They concluded that that was why it was so bright and pure. By and by the Coweta came up, and the two peoples agreed that the country from which they had started was so far off that they would not return to it. So they remained where they were, fought with the inhabitants of the land, and brought them under their own system of laws.

"In course of time no people were left willing to resist them, and they longed for someone with whom to fight. Hereupon Coweta challenged Kasihta to a game of ball in order to obtain revenge for having been beaten with switches by the latter. The custom of having ball contests originated at this time and in this manner and has continued to the present day. Now arose the division between the war towns and the peace towns. The war towns have separated from the Coweta and the peace towns from the Kasihta, except in the cases of towns which have been brought in from outside. These have usually been brought in by the peace towns, and hence are generally white."

A very much longer account, involving, in fact, a rough history of the Kasihta tribe from earliest times to the date when they made peace with the Cherokee, was, however, taken down by the late Albert S. Gatschet from the same native authority. It is preserved in one of Doctor Gatschet's manuscript notebooks in the original Creek with interlinear translation, and, as nearly as I can determine, runs as follows:

"It was in the beginning when people were first created. This is the history of the three tribes known as Kasihta, Chickasaw, and Coweta. Far off toward the west many people came out of the ground. And the Coweta were delayed by the root of a tree which stretched across their road. Then the Kasihta and Chickasaw towns came out of the earth together. At that time the people were without clothing or fire. And they sewed together leaves of trees with which to cover themselves. And while they were there the Breather (Hisa'kita immi'si) spoke to them and said: 'The earth which lies here is the foundation of all things.' And he said: 'The

173
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173
539
[361]

were their war talkers (inhufupuna'ya). And behind the house, lying toward the south, they had what they called the tádjo. It was round; a ridge of earth was about its edge; and in the middle their ball post was erected. It was a source of amusement, and when it became dark they danced there through the night. The women danced with them.⁴⁰⁰

173
539
796

"And in the middle of summer at the time of the big harvest they met together at what was called the poskita, and they had what was called the 'big feast' on one day, when they went about eating until evening. The day after that they fasted, took medicine, and vomited it up, and they sat there until evening as moving about was prohibited. They remained there without sleeping until morning. And when they had sat through until the eighth morning, fire produced by boring with a stick was taken to each house.

"After that they considered what amusements they could institute. On the evening of the day of the 'all-day eating (hú'mpi isya'fkita),' they danced what was called the gun dance (taputcka-obánga). And if one had been treated by doctors he went to this dance with his body naked, the bullet wound painted red, and on his back the pay of the doctor, a back load.

"The next morning they kindled a fire by boring with a stick of 'slimy switch' (afo'slipakfa—the slippery elm), drank medicine which had been compounded there, and fasted; and they remained there fasting ceremonially, not eating any kind of food. And they were prohibited from eating meat, salt, and honey, and from touching women and children. When four days were passed they danced different kinds of dances. At noon they had the women dance by themselves the shooting dance⁴⁰¹ (its obánga), and afterward the men by themselves danced the long dance (obá'nga tcá'pko). The men and women together danced the old buffalo dance (yana's' atcu'li) holding sticks. The women also danced what was called the old dance (obánga atcu'li) with turtle-shell rattles tied to their legs. After dark the men and women danced [again and they kept it up] until morning. Then they went to their homes.⁴⁰²

173
539
796
526

"[Following the dances] they played what they called 'Shooting the ball' (puk' i'tcita), holding two bent ball sticks with which they caught and threw the ball. And if they were going to bet, if two towns had dared provoke each other, they advanced to the meeting place, and when they got near they made a camp and stayed there until dark. [On each side] two men, one holding a drum, another a rattle, sat singing for them, the women standing behind them and dancing. Then the men kindled a fire and marched around it whooping and praising themselves continually. From time to

⁴⁰⁰ See pp. 174-190 for descriptions of the ceremonial grounds.

⁴⁰¹ Probably a mistaken translation. See p. 606.

⁴⁰² For descriptions of the poskita or busk, see pp. 546-614.

time they stopped and the fourth time they retired and slept until daybreak. Then they went up to each other, undressed, and met. They wagered such things as horses, money, coats, handkerchiefs. The distance between them in either direction was two hundred yards. The sticks of the ball posts were planted in the ground side by side. Then the ball was thrown up, they ran after it, and they wrestled if they wished. They stood up twenty counting sticks against each other and whichever side first made twenty points won the game. They threw the ball between the posts which had been planted on each side. Afterward those who had won the wagers went off, taking them along.^{32c}

"The Muskogee, Cherokee, Choctaw, Nokfila, Yamasee, Natchez, and people like them continued their mutual enmity. For some time they kept on killing one another. And one tribe, the Nokfila," was lost. The tribe was in part killed out and in part enslaved.

"The Yamasee were good people. They did not want to fight, but, being harassed, they walked deep into the water very humbly, singing pretty songs, and so that tribe was lost.³² The old people said that this happened because it was in the thought of God that it should be so.

"While that was taking place the mutual killing went on. And since it had to cease, finally it did cease. The peace that was first made came about in this wise.

"There was a man of the Kasihta tribe known as Good-child Chief, celebrated for his ability and praised on account of the awe which he inspired. His ears were split and his body marked with tattooings [of his war honors]. At intervals he would kill Cherokee, strip off their scalps, and carry them home. Upon one occasion he went out as usual to kill people and reached the land of the Cherokee. There he saw human footprints. Observing that they were fresh he followed them. And then he saw a deer having widely branching horns and he shot at it. Afterward it ran on and was lost in the distance. Then he thought 'It would be better to kill *people*,' and he went forward. He followed a stream until he came to a foot log lying across it. Then, seeing that the human tracks by it were fresh, he thought 'I will kill [the people] when they cross upon that log.' He saw a bush covered with leaves near the water, its branches reaching toward him, and, thinking 'I will hide in there and when they cross over I will kill them,' he sat down behind it.

"The people came, he saw them cross, and he pointed his gun at them but put it down again and they passed on leaving him sitting in the same place. Then it happened that he heard someone on

^{32c} See pp. 458-460 for a description of the ball game.

³² "Nokfila" is also given as an old Muskogee designation of the white people.

³² The character of this warlike tribe is here entirely misrepresented, and solely because in Muskogee *gimila* is the word meaning "gentle."

173
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796
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173
539

SWANTON

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

157

One of these two moieties was called Hathagálgi, "White people" or "White clans," while the other was usually known as Teilokogálgi, "People of a different speech," a term also applied to tribes like the Hitchiti, Alabama, and Yuchi, which do not use the Muskogee language. This latter was also known by certain alternative terms or nicknames. One of these is said to have been Sahanálgi, and is affirmed to have been an old name which my informant thought had reference to some sort of yell. Another nickname was Laksafáskálgi, which is, however, applied to the tástánágálgi or leading warriors, the Deer clan, in Pakan Tallahassee. A single informant told me that they sometimes called themselves Lasagálgi, "Blacks," but according to another this was a term which a man sometimes bestowed in jest on his own clan. Again, we have the term Aská'málgi, the meaning of which I did not obtain. By others the word Hóla'tági or Hóla'tálgi was used. In the Apalachee dialect and in Timucua, hola'ta meant "chief." One informant stated, however, that this was applied to an arbor or cabin at the square grounds where all kinds of clans were mixed together. According to the same man the Hathagálgi were too much respected to be the subject of nicknames, yet I heard from still another quarter that they were called Isti alumba, which seems to mean "people who stick or adhere together," in contradistinction to the Isti teiloki, "people of a different speech." The respect above indicated was directed particularly to the Wind clan, as we shall see when we come to speak of punishments. This clan enjoyed privileges like those of a superior caste.

One of the oldest of the Tukabahchee Indians told me the following short myth which contains some native speculations regarding the origin of the ball game and ball game costume and at the same time the origin of the dual division of clans.

"Once upon a time the animals that walk on land played against everything in the air, and they disputed as to the position of the bat. The land animals said 'Let him go up with you,' but the air creatures did not want him. They disputed about him for some time, for neither side would take him, but finally he went with the animals. When the game took place he proved so quick and was able to fly and dart about so easily that he enabled the land animals to win. Just as the animals dressed at that time the people who played ball dressed in later times, and it was then perhaps that the division between Whites and Teilokis began."

There is a somewhat longer version of this story in the Tuggle collection, but no deductions regarding dress or customs are drawn from it.

Just as the linking of clans disagrees in different towns, so does the line of division between these two sets of clans differ, and the following table shows how the clans were divided in each town and at the

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101

observer, active and spare, and he forms a kind of outpost for the Bear."

An additional reason for the association of wind with peace is the myth that in the beginning of things, at the time when men were first separated into clans, it drove away the mists then enveloping them and revealed them to one another.²²²

These two divisions have not had anything to do with marriage regulations, at least in recent times. I was told that each formed an exogamous group in Koasati, but the Koasati are so reduced in numbers to-day that it is doubtful whether such information may be relied upon. More important was the statement of Jackson Lewis that anciently members of White clans did not intermarry. However, he did not affirm that the same was true of the Tciloki, and his assertion remains practically unsupported. I have a few cases in which exogamous groups are reported including clans belonging to both sides, though further investigation may show this to be an error. Thus in Abihka-in-the-West the Wind and Bear, reported as usual to have been White, are said to have formed one phratry with the Panther which was given as Tciloki. In Asilanabi the Bear and Bird, which were Whites, were united with the Beaver and Alligator, which were Tciloki. In Tuskegee the White Beaver are said to have united with the Tciloki Alligator. In Laplako the Bear, Bird, and Beaver are said not to have intermarried, although the first is given as a Tciloki clan in this town and the other two as White clans. In Alabama the Bear and Panther are put together—the former a White clan, the latter a Tciloki. In Okmulgee and Hitchiti the Bird and Beaver are assigned to opposite sides but one phratry, though here, as stated above, I have reason to believe that they were both Tciloki. Among the Yuchi the Wind are said to have been Whites and the Deer and Panther Tciloki, while the three were in one exogamous group.

The White clans undoubtedly had to do with peace, while the others were "bearers of the red sticks" and hence were war clans, but the terms "peace and war" are not given to them as names, nor is the adjective red usually coupled with the Tciloki. There is reason to believe that this dual division had something to do with the dual division of towns to be considered presently, but it is now difficult to make out just what that connection was. At any rate they served one definite purpose, to determine the sides in practice games played within each town, the Whites and Tciloki always forming the two parties.

Among the Texas Alabama, where there has long been but a single town or one or two related villages, practice games were all that could be indulged in. It is to be supposed that in former times they had

616
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526
[177]

the same dual division as the other Creeks, but it is now entirely forgotten. In later years, at all events, the men and women played against each other in the two-goal game, something unheard of among the Creeks proper and due without doubt to an entire breakdown of the ancient customs. I was also told that when the men did play against each other the Daddy-longlegs, Bear, and Deer "stood" the other clans. This, however, I believe to have been another modern device, and a suggestion of something more primitive is contained in the statement of one of my oldest informants to the effect that the fathers of the Bear, Salt, and Wind clans always played against the sons of those clans. The others, including evidently the men of those three clans, "divided up any way." The suggestiveness about this lies in the fact that among the Creeks the Bear, Salt, and Wind are usually considered White clans.

[535] As mentioned above, in the teitahaia or "feather dance" eagle and buzzard feathers were carried by the Teiloki dancers and white crane feathers by those from White clans.

GENERAL REMARKS

614
582

Some general considerations are to be appended regarding the functions of Creek clans and clan aggregates and the customs connected with them. One of my informants remarked that "clans have everything to do with marriage," yet it is evident from what has been said above that in practically none of the towns were all of the exogamous groups identical with single clans. Another asserted that persons of the same clan in unrelated towns could marry, while if the towns were considered branches of one group they could not. This was, however, flatly denied by everyone else, all maintaining that marriage into the clan of the mother was absolutely prohibited, no matter whether the persons concerned belonged to the same town or lived hundreds of miles apart. Marriage into the father's clan was also held in disfavor, and it was said of a man who had done this, "He has fallen into his own [sofki] pot." This regulation was observed by the Texas Alabama as well as the Creeks proper. In ancient times the prohibition may have been more rigorous; later it covered only blood relatives in the father's clan. The assertion is made that marriage was prohibited with anyone related by blood, whether they belonged to the clans of the parents or not. According to some this took in all such persons with whom relationship could still be recognized; according to others it merely extended to the third degree. Such an extension might indeed have been anticipated from the fact that all children of men of the father's clan were called brothers and sisters and the individuals so designated might belong to any exogamous group throughout the tribe. It is said that a man was allowed to marry a woman of another town belonging

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342



a. A Seminole home in Oklahoma.

C.
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796



b. Conjuring the medicine before a ball game



c. Ball players taking the medicine
CREEK CEREMONIALS

[facing p. 235]

The Red towns were said to carry red beads, the White towns white beads. In modern times their functions were well-nigh reduced to determining what towns were to play with and against each other in the ball games.

N

ball ground



Warriors' Bed

	Braver and Bird	
Tastinagts	Big Imalas	Little Imalas

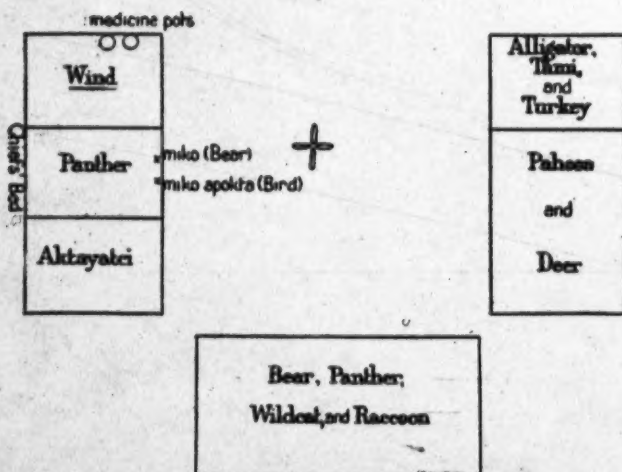


FIG. 56.—Plan of the Laptako Square Ground (1)

Following is a list of towns as classified to-day in accordance with the best information available:

WHITE

Kashta,
Apalachicola.
Hitchiti.
Sawokli.
Okmulgee.
Kawagti.
Okitiyagana.
Yuchi.
Coosa.
Oteapofa.
Tulsa Little River.

Tulsa Canadian.
Lutcapoga.
Okfuskee.
Teatoksoska.
Abihkutci.
Nuyaka.
Abihka.
Abihka-in-the-West.
Talladega.
Kan-teati.
Wakokai.

Wiogufki.
Tukpaska.
Wiwohka.
Pakan tallahassee.
Okchal.
Lalogalga.
Aslanabi.
Koasati (1 and 2).
Tuskegee.

212 These facts all tend to show that the Creeks anciently had made some endeavors to record their history and serve to strengthen our respect for certain of the features of their migration legends. It will also prevent us from dismissing as an altogether idle tale De la Vente's assertion that the Natchez had preserved a record of 45 or 50 of their Great Suns.¹⁵ At the best the attempts were, of course, crude, but in Peru the device of the quipu seems to have preserved a great amount of extremely valuable history extending to a remote antiquity.

436 Before white contact value was measured by means of shell money, but we have not from the southern Indians as full an account of this as from the northern Indians. The following from Adair contains nearly all that we know about it:

"Before we supplied them with our European beads, they had great quantities of wampum; (the Buccinum of the ancients) made out of conch-shell, by rubbing them on hard stones, and so they form them according to their liking. With these they bought and sold at a stated current rate, without the least variation for circumstances either of time or place; and now they will hear nothing patiently of loss or gain, or allow us to heighten the price of our goods, be our reasons ever so strong, or though the exigencies and changes of time may require it. Formerly, four deer-skins was the price of a large conch-shell bead, about the length and thickness of a man's forefinger; which they fixed to the crown of their head, as an high ornament—so greatly they valued them."¹⁶

GAMES

• 526 As with so many other American tribes, the two-goal ball game, resembling in many respects that known as lacrosse, was the leading game among southern Indians. I will begin an account of it by prefixing Adair's description as he witnessed it among the Chickasaw, though the Creek game as it has come down to us differed in several important particulars. He says:

[525] "The Indians are much addicted to gaming, and will often stake every thing they possess. Ball-playing is their chief and most favourite game; and is such severe exercise, as to shew it was originally calculated for a hardy and expert race of people, like themselves, and the ancient Spartans. The ball is made of a piece of scraped deer-skin, moistened, and stuffed hard with deer's hair, and strongly sewed with deer's sinews. The ball-sticks are about two feet long, the lower end somewhat resembling the palm of a hand, and which are worked with deer-skin thonga. Between these, they catch the ball, and throw it a great distance, when not prevented by some of the opposite party, who fly to intercept them. The goal is about

¹⁵ *Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér.*, 15th ann., vol. 1, p. 37.

¹⁶ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 170. Cf. also Lawson, *Hist. Car.*, pp. 215-217. The use of the term "wampum" here is erroneous: wampum was of a wholly different type.

five hundred yards in length: at each end of it, they fix two long bending poles into the ground, three yards apart below, but slanting a considerable way outwards. The party that happens to throw the ball over these, counts one; but, if it be thrown underneath, it is cast back, and played for as usual. The gamesters are equal in number on each side; and, at the beginning of every course of the ball, they throw it up high in the center of the ground, and in a direct line between the two goals. When the crowd of players prevents the one who catches the ball, from throwing it off with a long direction, he commonly sends it the right course, by an artful sharp twirl. They are so exceedingly expert in this manly exercise, that, between the goals, the ball is mostly flying the different ways, by the force of the playing sticks, without falling to the ground, for they are not allowed to catch it with their hands. It is surprising to see how swiftly they fly, when closely chased by a nimble footed pursuer; when they are intercepted by one of the opposite party, his fear of being cut by the ball sticks, commonly gives them an opportunity of throwing it perhaps a hundred yards; but the antagonist sometimes runs up behind, and by a sudden stroke dashes down the ball. It is a very unusual thing to see them act spitefully in any sort of game, not even in this severe and tempting exercise.

"Once, indeed, I saw some break the legs and arms of their opponents, by hurling them down, when on a descent, and running at full speed. But I afterward understood, there was a family dispute of long continuance between them: that might have raised their spleen, as much as the high bets they had then at stake, which was almost all they were worth. The Choktah are exceedingly addicted to gaming, and frequently on the slightest and most hazardous occasions, will lay their all, and as much as their credit can procure.

"By education, precept, and custom, as well as strong example, they have learned to shew an external acquiescence in every thing that befalls them, either as to life or death. By this means, they reckon it a scandal to the character of a steady warrior to let his temper be ruffled by any accidents,—their virtue they say, should prevent it. . . . To move the deity to enable them to conquer the party they are to play against, they mortify themselves in a surprising manner; and, except a small intermission, their female relations dance out of doors all the preceding night, chanting religious notes with their shrill voices, to move *Yo He Wah* " to be favourable to their kindred party, on the morrow. The men fast and wake from sunset, till the ball play is over the next day, which is about one or two o'clock in the afternoon. During the whole night, they

¹⁷ Adair is reverting again to his favorite theory that these meaningless syllables had reference to the Jahovah of the Hebrews, from which people he believed the American Indians were descended.

526 are to forbear sleeping under the penalty of reproaches and shame; which would sit very sharp upon them, if their party chanced to lose the game, as it would be ascribed to that unmanly and vicious conduct. They turn out to the ball ground, in a long row, painted white, whooping, as if Pluto's prisoners were all broke loose: when that enthusiastic emotion is over, the leader of the company begins a religious invocation, by saying *Yal*, short; then *Yo* long, which the rest of the train repeat with a short accent, and on a low key like the leader: and thus they proceed with such acclamations and invocations, as have been already noticed, on other occasions. Each party are desirous to gain the twentieth ball, which they esteem a favourite divine gift. As it is in the time of laying by the corn, in the very heat of summer, they use this severe exercise, a stranger would wonder to see them hold it so long at full speed, and under the scorching sun, hungry also, and faint with the excessive use of such sharp physic as the button snake root, the want of natural rest, and of every kind of nourishment. But their constancy, which they gain by custom, and their love of virtue, as the sure means of success, enable them to perform all their exercises, without failing in the least, be they ever so severe in the pursuit."¹⁸

The Chickasaw ball stick as here described differs considerably from that of the Creeks and was probably like the one used by the Choctaw. The goal was also arranged very differently. The fullest account of a Creek game given by early writers is from Pope, in the case of an actual contest witnessed by him. It is as follows:

... "He [Alexander McGillivray] invited me to a Ball-Match, about 10 miles from his house, between two Townships. Sixty-two alert young Fellows were selected from each Town. The Goals were set up about a quarter of a Mile apart, near the Center of an extensive Campaign or Prairie.—They consist of two blazed Saplings fixed in the Ground about 10 Feet asunder at either End, thro' which every Time either Party throws the Ball with their Rackets, they are entitled to count one—The Number of the Game is arbitrary.—Midway between the Goals, the Ball is thrown up alternately by two old Men, who are mutually chosen by the contending Parties to decide all Controversies which may arise in the course of the Game—Upon throwing up the Ball a violent Struggle ensues between the Parties which sometimes lasts 8 or 10 Minutes, before either Side can give it a cast; and when they do, there are others of their Opponents ready to intercept and give it an adverse Direction.—On this Game Property to a very considerable Amount is generally risked, consisting of Broaches, Bracelets, Gorgets, Medals, paints, Arms and Ammunition piled up in a pyramidal Form. Sometimes their whole Family Stock of Food and Raiment is hazarded.—A dislocated Joint or Fractured

¹⁸ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 280-291.

Bone is not uncommon: Suffer what they may, you'll never see an angry look or hear a threatening Word among them.

"The Players divest themselves of all their Cloaths, except their Flaps. They ingeniously disguise themselves with various coloured Paints and assume the Semblance of Rattle-Snakes entwin'd. Spiral Streaks of *red, white and blue*, alternately adorn their other Parts.—The vanquished Party immediately upon the Conclusion of the Game, betake themselves to their Heels, in Order to avoid the Scoffs and Ridicule of their boastful Conquerors."²⁹

It will be noticed that the goals described here agree somewhat with those mentioned by Adair, both differing from the modern goals in having no crossbar at the top. Bartram speaks as if there were but one "pillar" at each end to which the ball was carried by the opposing party.³⁰ This is the style in vogue at the present day among the Choctaw of Mississippi. In the first section of the present paper some further information regarding the ball game will be found.³¹

Under another heading I have said a great deal about the social significance of the ball game and I have explained that the regular games were played only between towns belonging to the two opposite fires. I have also given the traditional origin—or a traditional origin—of these encounters—i. e., as a substitute for war. In common parlance it was often called "the brother of the war." The social divisions concerned in the ball game have been treated at length. Among the Texas Alabama, in which the older organization has been long broken down, various other ways of dividing up were resorted to. One of the prominent men among the Yuchi assured me that one of the oldest divisions in that tribe was between the men who had children and those who had none.

To frame the ball sticks pieces of hickory were tapered off, steamed and turned over at the ends, to the right for a right-handed player and to the left for a left-handed man, after which the ends were bound over on the handle. Two buckskin cords were then run across each opening and fastened through small holes made with an awl, thus furnishing a cage for the ball. Lard was next heated, and rubbed at the base of each loop. The loops were then inserted into a crack in a wall or floor and bent sideways a trifle so that the player could hold the ball between the two sticks. I was told that the makers of these sticks did not fast while at work but that after they were done medicine was put on them. The ball was made exactly as described by Adair, of deer hair covered with a piece of dressed deerskin tied by means of deerskin thongs. The ball sticks formerly

²⁹ Pope, Tour, pp. 40-61. For another printed account see "Narrative of a Mission to the Creek Nation," by Col. Marinus Willett, pp. 106-110, copied into Pickett's History of Alabama, pp. 89-90, and Chalmers, Miss., vol. 1, pp. 496-497.

³⁰ Bartram, Travels, p. 508.

³¹ See pp. 40-61.

526

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526 used by the Choctaw and Chickasaw were not as powerful as the Creek ball sticks.

As has already been stated, in games between the Whites and Teilokis the former wore white crane feathers in their hair and the latter eagle feathers. They had no other clothing in olden times except the breechclout and moccasins. Fastened over the breechclout behind was often a "tiger tail." It was used because this animal is strong and courageous. If the father of a player had belonged to the Panther clan that would be an additional reason for selecting it. A bison tail, and eagle and sparrow-hawk feathers were also used because they belonged to "masterful animals." I am told that the paint had no significance except that red was generally used as representing war, the ball game being "brother of the war." Nevertheless, I believe that in ancient times the paintings did sometimes have significance. If the other adornments were adopted with the idea of assisting the player there is every reason to suppose that the paintings would sometimes be put on with the same object in view. The following account of the manner in which a regular match game was conducted was given me by Jackson Lewis.

Each party calls the other itc inkipai'a, and each person so names one who always opposes him in the ball play. In proposing a game a messenger from one town goes to the chief of another and says, "Here is a proposition to engage you in a game," upon which he lays down a ball stick with a feather tied to it. The chief then calls his people together, especially those who are interested in the game, and says: "We are challenged by our well-known opponents. What are you going to do?" Then they count noses to see whether they have enough expert ball players to stand a contest. If they decide that they can do so they send word back "We will try you one game." Then each town selects four contract makers who meet at some appointed place midway between the towns to arrange the terms of the contest. They agree when to play, where to play, but above all who are to play on each side—i. e., whether the men married into both towns are to play, the men married out and living elsewhere, etc. Oneside says "We will play our sons-in-law," which another will object to, saying, "No, but we will play our sons," etc. The referees on both sides are very sharp to see that no advantage is yielded to the enemy. Finally they settle upon the terms or else call the game off. In each party of four chosen to make the contract there must always be one man of the Bear clan.²¹ Although the contract makers do not agree to have wrestling when the young men are going into a contest the old men will say to them, "You are now privileged to treat your opponents in any way you choose." Wrestling is called ikán wá'kita, "lying down on the ground." Now, after both towns have encamped in the

²¹ This statement applies particularly to Upper Eufaula.

neighborhood of the place selected, the eight referees agree upon the precise plot of ground upon which it shall be played. The people of each town fell trees and lay the logs round their camps for the spectators to sit upon while the ball dance is held. The spectators sit in a semicircle. The dancing is carried on almost entirely by the women, though there is some dancing by the men. After the women have danced four times to songs sung by the others they retire to a distance, and those who have been selected to play take their ball sticks, and rush out, yelling, whooping, running around, and making hideous shouts. This is called ya'hkita. The drum is beaten during all of this time. This whole performance is repeated four times during the night, and it takes until midnight or a little longer. The players have the ball they expect to use next day tied to a twig and the twig set in the ground with the end directed toward the camp of their opponents "much as cannon are trained on the enemy." After the dance the women retire, while the men may sit around in their seats until daylight when the game begins. That time having come they cut down a sapling 12 to 16 feet high and about 6 inches thick, and split it in two.

They carry this from the place where they have been dancing to their end of the selected ball ground. Then they agree about the distance apart of the two goals which is generally from 150 to 200 yards. There they dig holes and set the two pieces upright about 3 to 3½ feet apart. Across the top they put a crosspiece. After the goals have been set up the players on each side go up to the median line and throw their sticks down so that they match each other, the end of each stick on one side being directly opposite the end of a stick on the other side. This is to show that the number of players is exactly even on each side. Meanwhile the players jest with one another, and all kinds of things are wagered by the men and women of both parties. All the details are fixed in advance. Then three places are marked off, one exactly half way between the goals, the two others half way from the center to each goal. Each side divides its players into parties, placing one in the center, one at each of the midway points, and one near each goal. Finally a person steps to the center and throws the ball up into the air about 10 feet; whereupon all the players rush in, and each tries to throw it toward his own goal. The struggle now rages furiously. Two persons are appointed, one from each side, who sit midway between the goals. Each is provided with 10 sticks, and when a point is made by one side the representative of that side sticks one of his sticks into the ground. After all 10 are stuck in they begin to withdraw them until the representative of one side has withdrawn all, making 20 points, when the side he represents wins, and the scorers say Hātītō'tōtō', "He is dead, dead, dead, dead." Then the winners run to their

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526 goal and whoop and rush around it raising the *samɔ ya' hki'a*. As many play on each side as the eight referees agree upon, sometimes as many as 60. The game sometimes lasted till dark unless it broke up in a fight. Meanwhile each side has a medicine man back in the woods making medicine as hard as he can for his own side. Any doctor may be selected, but they are so suspicious that only one of whose sympathies they are certain is likely to be chosen. Jackson Lewis was once induced to make medicine for the Indians of a Choctaw town, and he sent them some medicine to rub on their bodies. They were successful, the opposing side making but one goal.



FIG. 104.—Arrangement of players at the opening of the Creek ball game

The following notes, furnished by Zachariah Cook, supplement the foregoing in many important particulars:

The sides pair off as indicated in the accompanying sketch (fig. 104), each party facing the other and occupying one side all the way along. If the ball goes under the crossbar of the goal and between the side posts it counts, or if it hits the posts or crossbar, no matter from which side thrown. Each side has previously provided itself with a medicine ball, called "a chief ball," inside of which is a measuring worm, because that is a worm supposedly invisible to a bird, and so the ball will not be seen by the other party.^{21a} After either side has made its third goal it can use this ball to make its fourth; that having been accomplished, they go on playing with a common ball. Behind the goal post is a dish in which is a piece of the hide of a bull turtle and some medicine. The ball is supposed to be attracted to the dish like a turtle to the water. They also paint medicine on the ball stick strings so as to attract the ball to them. For these things they depend entirely on the medicine maker (*hilis-haya*) and follow his directions, but who is making the medicine for them is kept a secret. The ball posts are only conjured a little just after they are cut. The medicine maker also prepares a medicine out of the track of a wolf and the burrow of a crawfish to rub on the shoulders of the players.

The first ball to be thrown up is not by the regular ball throwers, but by the best speaker they can find who gives a talk first, counselling fair play, etc., and then throws the ball, saying, "Here goes up a ball for twenty stakes." Afterwards the regular throwers are used, one from each side.

The man representing the side that challenges begins. The paints that were put on their bodies were only for ornament. There

^{21a} It seems that part of a "snake's nest" was also an efficient medicine to be used in this manner. See p. 462.

is a man at each goal to see that the goals are made fairly, and two men on each side (called *mădjokăgi*) to umpire and keep order. They tell the players to play hard without fighting. Sometimes they have four of these men on a side. There is also one scorer for each side, each provided with a number of broken sticks. Each scores for his own side, sticking one stick after another in the ground until there are 10 and then withdrawing them until all of the sticks belonging to one side are out.

If any one gets knocked out in play they even up again by throwing down their ball sticks opposite each other to be sure that neither side has an advantage. The players wear red fringes around their necks, and cows' tails, panthers' tails, and bison tails on their buttocks. They run with the ball or throw it, whichever way will advance the ball fastest. When they are through, the winning side marches around its goal, goes home, and has a "stomp dance." The others may set a time and hold a "stomp dance" afterwards.

A man had to play on the side of his own town even against the people of the town into which he had married, but if he lived in a third town not involved in the game, he could join the town that asked him first. This, therefore, gave a man an opportunity to play on the side opposite that of his proper town, but in olden times it is probable that it did not happen very often. When preparing for the ball game at Teatoksofka the town chief talked the players over with one *heniha* (of the Wind clan) and one man of the Raccoon clan, or sometimes he consulted two members of each clan. According to Zachariah Cook, at Tukabahchee there were two men known as *imagăgi* who divided up the men or else called upon some experienced men to do it for them. Two *mikăgi* had charge of the women's dance. Although Jackson Lewis speaks of the place where the contest was to be held as being agreed upon in advance by the eight men who arranged it, this was not done finally until just before the game, each side fearing lest the opponents should bewitch it. This was given me as the reason why it was not known where the *Talahasutci* and *Liwahali* Seminole were going to play in the summer of 1913. When the wife of a ball player was pregnant the doctor prepared a medicine for him different from that taken by the others. The middle ground, half way between the ball posts, was called *wăskita*; and each station halfway between that point and either goal was known as *nălkăptkă'ga*. The side which threw through one goal called the other party *fălôdji* and vice versa. It is asserted that there was little or no fighting in olden times during the ball game, and this assertion is borne out by what the older writers tell us—although legs and arms were sometimes broken in the scrimmages—but in recent years it has been almost impossible to play a game through without a free fight. A game between the *Nuyaka* and *Lăplăko* towns ended

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526 this way, and the same fate befell one started between the Eufaula
578 and Abihka towns. In the latter case the very first time the ball was
177 thrown up a free fight began which lasted three hours, and, according
to report, the county sheriff and his deputies were utterly unable
to stop it.

526 Sometimes the parties to a ball game had to march some distance
to reach the place agreed upon for the encounter. When that was
the case they would go by easy stages, hold a rally in the evening,
the night before, and dance all night. I have one account which
states that they held such a dance the first evening, reached the place
appointed the next day, held another dance there, and then began
the game. A great amount of property was wagered on the outcome
of one of these games by both men and women, who would even
strip clothing off of their bodies for that purpose.

It is to be observed that the Indian attitude with reference to the
goals is just opposite to that taken by white men in their games, for
with us the idea is to drive the ball through the enemy's goal, but
the Indian considered that he was bringing the ball home to his own
goal.

526 Among the Texas Alabama the method of counting points was
802 different from that used by the Creeks, but it was probably a later
innovation. There a straight line was
drawn and transverse marks made on one
side of this for one party and on the other
side for the other party, twelve constitut-
ing the game. Figure 105 will illustrate.

FIG. 105.—Alabama method of record-
ing scores in the ball game

526 I will now give an account of a practice game between Laplako
788 Indians witnessed by myself in 1913. We drove from Wetumka
Sunday afternoon, July 27, and found the Indians seated on logs
around the dance ground while the medicine maker at the other end
was blowing into the medicine (pl. 7, b). There were two tubs, each
said to contain miko hoyanidja, but each treated differently by the
doctor, so that the men drank from both. He did his work very delib-
erately, sitting motionless for a long time and afterwards taking some
time in blowing into the medicine. He probably did this four times,
though we did not watch him long enough to be certain. He sat facing
the east. After that the yatika made an announcement and all went
to the medicine, formed two rows, facing east, and took the medicine
in the usual manner, afterwards vomiting it out, though some did
not choose to take it (pl. 7, c). Before and during this ceremony the
chief held in his hand a short stick on the end of which was fastened
two balls and a bunch of small sticks. The last were the scoring
sticks; the former comprised a large ball with which they were going
to play next day and a smaller ball, the "chief ball" above mentioned,
used when one side has scored three goals. It is said that each side

SWANTON]

GENERAL CUSTOMS

465

has such a ball but I saw only one. When they went to take medicine each player took his ball sticks and belt down from the rack, on which they were hung in pairs, and when his turn came to take medicine each first poured a little upon these. The chief led and poured a little upon the balls. When all were through and had gotten back to their seats announcement was made that the players would be scratched. This was done on the west side of a large oak tree west of the medicine man's position. Each player in turn placed one hand on the tree and raised one leg at a time to the scratcher who scratched him four times on the back of the calf and four times on the thigh in front just deep enough to draw blood. He was also scratched four times on the upper arms and four times on the lower arms.

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Meanwhile the medicine maker was treating more medicine, water having been brought by water boys, and soon after the scratching was completed they took medicine again. Previously, a number of boys had been sent to get wood for the fire to be built up that night, although a fire had been smoldering in the middle of the dance ground all the afternoon. After they had taken medicine for the last time the fire was poked up a little. The yatika, who was a Tukabahchee Indian, now made a short speech, when all ran and got their ball sticks, and marched around a little tree that had been set up near the medicine. After circling about it a few times they filed off to the stream and bathed. Some time later they came back and were dismissed to supper with another short speech. After supper they danced the "old dance" four times when the dance became free to all, both men and women joining in. Dancing continued almost all night.

On the day of the ball game, July 28, 1913, we reached the grounds about 8 a. m. The two sides were already made up. After waiting to see that all were present, each side went off by itself and held a council: Then each leader made a speech and they filed off to dress for the game. Presently they came back, part retaining their "store clothes," part wearing only the breechclout and belt with perhaps a feather in the hair. One or two had red paint on their faces and at least one wore a tiger tail strapped straight up along his back. Each party walked to its own goal and circled about it for a few minutes, shouting. Then they lined up across the center and after some parley threw down their sticks opposite each other to see that the numbers were even. Then they went to their appointed places, the ball was thrown up, and the game began. The sides were called simply "East" (hasosa) and "West" (akalatka) and the two scorers, each marking up for one side, sat on the south side of the grounds. As the game proceeded the enthusiasm increased, the rival sides about-

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526 ing "hasosa," "akalatka." The game lasted from about 9 until 10.30 and ended in favor of the west side by a score of 20 to 16.

Another very ancient game was called by white traders the chunky game and gave its name to the chunk yards of Creek towns, later devoted solely to the single stick game to be described presently. The chunky, although once extremely popular, could be played by but few persons on a side and never had the significance, so far as we know, of the game already considered. It has now passed out of use so completely as barely to be remembered, but there are several accounts of it by those French writers who tell us of the tribes of the lower Mississippi Valley,²² and Adair has the following excellent description:

[525] "The warriors have another favourite game, called *Chungke*; which, with propriety of language, may be called 'Running hard labour.' They have near their state house, a square piece of ground well cleaned, and fine sand is carefully strewed over it, when requisite, to promote a swifter motion to what they throw along the surface. Only one, or two on a side, play at this ancient game. They have a stone about two fingers broad at the edge, and two spans round: each party has a pole of about eight feet long, smooth, and tapering at each end, the points flat. They set off a-breast of each other at six yards from the end of the play ground; then one of them hurls the stone on its edge, in as direct a line as he can, a considerable distance toward the middle of the other end of the square: when they have ran a few yards, each darts his pole anointed with bear's oil, with a proper force, as near as he can guess in proportion to the motion of the stone, that the end may lie close to the stone—when this is the case, the person counts two of the game, and, in proportion to the nearness of the poles to the mark, one is counted, unless by measuring, both are found to be at an equal distance from the stone. In this manner, the players will keep running most part of the day, at half speed, under the violent heat of the sun, staking their silver ornaments, their nose, finger, and ear rings; their breast, arm, and wrist plates, and even all their wearing apparel, except that which barely covers their middle. All the American Indians are much addicted to this game, which to us appears to be a task of stupid drudgery: it seems however to be of early origin, when their fore-fathers used diversions as simple as their manners. The hurling stones they use at present, were time immemorial rubbed smooth on the rocks, and with prodigious labour; they are kept with the strictest religious care, from one generation to another, and are exempted from being buried with the dead. They belong to the town where they are used, and are carefully preserved."²³

²² See Bulletin 42, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 80-81.

²³ Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 401-402.

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At the present time the game next in importance to the one first described is the single pole game. Every square ground is supplemented with a circular area having a single pole 25 to 30 feet high in the middle. This circular area is all that is left of the old chunky yard already described. Sometimes there is a sacred yard and pole not used in actual games, a second pole in another place being devoted to the play. The games here were of a purely social character; I have not heard that any ceremonies or medicine performances accompanied them. They play this game down to the present time, especially on Sundays, and the men and women play against each other, although sometimes the women are allowed to strengthen their forces by choosing two of the best male players. The ball used is similar to that employed in the men's game, and the men are obliged to throw it with their ball sticks, while the women use their hands. As elsewhere described, on the top of the pole is hung a cow's or horse's skull, or a wooden image such as a fish, as in the Fish Pond towns; at Eufaula, an eagle is used. Part way up the pole is a mark and if anyone throws the ball so as to hit the pole above this his or her side scores one, while if it hits the skull or image at the top it scores more, sometimes five. The following is perhaps an older form of counting. If the skull or image is hit it counts one. If the pole above the mark is hit twice in succession by one side it counts one also, but if the side makes one hit and then the other makes one the score of the first is canceled. The whole number of points, as in the case of the men's game, was 20, and scored in the same manner by sticking ten sticks into the ground and then pulling them out again. Jackson Lewis, speaking of an earlier time, said that they generally managed to let the women win, and then the men went after game which the women cooked, the whole ending with a feast and dance. This was evidently in connection with the social feasts more specifically described elsewhere.^{22a}

Hitchcock gives the following lively picture of a game which he witnessed in the Creek country in 1842:

"The players mingle, or scatter about as they please, the men on one side of the game and the women on the other sided by a few men. The men use sticks, the women their hands. The chief throws the ball up nearly vertically, standing near the pole,—the game has commenced. All rush to sieze the ball, men and women pell mell together. One gets it. His party tries to give him an opportunity of throwing it. The opposite party, to embarrass him, rush on him, catch his arm, and in the whirl he loses the ball. Another rush. A woman gets it. She holds it firmly in one hand and walks towards the pole followed and surrounded by men and women. She is about to throw it. A ball stick is interposed over her. She

526 sees one of her own side a little way off and tosses the ball to her. The latter catches it and, throwing it instantly, hits the pole. There is a general scream and one point is marked to the women's side. The ball is taken and thrown up as before, and again the play is all life. A man bearing the ball is pursued. He rushes along with it in his sticks with his arms extended upward, strikes his foot against an obstacle, and falls to the ground headlong, losing the ball. There is a loud laugh and a general rush after the ball. A woman is near it. The ball is rolling on. She leans forward. She thinks she can reach it by throwing herself at full length on the ground, and doing so, reaches forward to grasp it but misses it and it is seized by another. And thus the play proceeds."²⁴

It is perhaps to the above game that Le Moyne refers when he says, in describing a game of the Florida Indians: "In the middle of an open space is set up a tree some eight or nine fathoms high, with a square frame woven of twigs on the top; this is to be hit with the ball, and he who strikes it first gets a prize." This description is accompanied by a picture showing such a pole,²⁵ but it is of doubtful reliability. This game is at least as old as the time of Adair.²⁶

In later times the Creek men and women also played against each other in a kind of game of football. Two goals were made, each of two sticks inclining to a point at a height of about 4 feet. The game was to drive the ball through these goals. It was thrown up in the middle and the men were allowed only to kick it while the women might use their hands also.

They also pitched arrows against each other. If the arrow of one player touched the feather of the other's arrow he kept it.

525 Both the Creeks of Oklahoma and the Alabama of Texas remember a game played with four pieces of cane, each half of a section made by splitting the cane lengthwise. This was primarily a women's game but men sometimes played it also. The canes were thrown into the air by each player in turn and the points determined by counting the number of canes with the convex and the concave sides up. Among the Alabama the following system of counting was in use. If all of the canes came to rest with their rounded sides up it counted 10; if all came to rest with their concave sides up it counted 5; if three came down concave side up and one convex side up it counted 3; if two were convex and two concave it counted 2; and if three were convex side up and one concave side up it counted 1.

Among the same people these canes were employed in lieu of dice in a game something like pachisi. A board was laid out as in the accompanying figure (fig. 106), sometimes not more than 10 by 15 inches in dimensions, but sometimes designed on a bearskin of a

²⁴ Hittchcock, *Ma. notes*.²⁵ Le Moyne, *Narr.*, p. 13 (III).²⁶ See p. 331.

In this town the Hathagas were the Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Bear, Tami, and Wind. The Tcilokis were the Deer, Raccoon, Panther, and perhaps Aktayatci. The two moieties were anciently exogamous.

The particular opponents of this town in regular ball games were the people of Atasi but they also played against Eufaula Hopai, Alabama, Hilibi, and Upper Eufaula. The Koasati Indians are said to have divided up in the ball games, some playing on each side.

The names of the present officers are:

miko	.....	Nokos Miko ("Bear Miko") (Bird)
asimbonnia	.....	Tastanäk Imala (Deer)
"	.....	Tastanäk Hadjo (Bird)
hilis haya	.....	Katcutci ("Little Panther") (Panther)
hilis tcälaba	.....	Nokos Hadjutci ("Little Bear Hadjo") (Deer)
oidjawälgi	.....	1. Fus Yaholotci ("Little Bird Yahola") (Bird)
		2. Hotälgutci ("Little Wind") (Bear, father Wind)
		3. Haläk Hopai ("Potato Hopai") (Panther, father Raccoon, Raccoon and Potato belonging to the same phratry)
hilis hoboia	.....	1. Itco Ilutci ("Little Deer Foot") (Raccoon, father Deer)
		2. Tälai Yähola (Bird)
ta'pala	.....	1. Haläk Yähola ("Potato Yahola") (Bird, father Raccoon)
"	.....	2. Hotälgi Hadjutci ("Little Wind Hadjo") (Bear, father Wind)
tutka oktididja	....	Itco-ili Imala ("Deer Foot Imala") (Raccoon, father Deer)
yähailkas	.....	1. Pahos Fiksiko (Raccoon, father Deer with which the Pahosa is affiliated)
"	.....	2. Miko Yähola (Bear)

If one town wished to play a match game with another, said my Pakan Tallahassee informant, they sent a man to that town with a ball stick, and when the people of town number two had reached an agreement they sent the ball stick back. My informant said that he then had a ball stick hanging up in his house which had been sent by the Alabama.

In the women's dance, the atäsa held by the leading woman is red and has an eagle feather attached to it; that of the second is white and has 3 feather of the fus hätki ("white bird"), a bird found down by the Creeks, attached to it. They used from 12 to 14 terrapin rattles. During the women's dance the two ta'palas stand about where the two pots nearest the west bed are in the plan. Each carries a wand called si'dik-kika having a white feather fastened to the end.

The dog whippers used in this dance are taken from any clan.

‡[i.e., Pakan Tallahassee. -- Analyst]

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